IMT Nuremberg Archives

H – 57

International Court of Justice

H0057 - 0002

Official transcript of the International Military Tribunal in the matter of The United States of America, the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against Hermann Wilhelm Goering, et al, Defendants, sitting at Nurnberg, Germany, on 9 February 1946, 1000-1130, Lord Justice Lawrence presiding.

COLONEL POKROVSKY: May I continue with my statement?

The end of the session prevented me from quoting a brief excerpt from a very secret and very important State Document, dated September 22, 1938. I propose to start with this document and to quote the first six lines from Document USSR exhibit 267.

This short extract proves with absolute clarity what was the so-called Sudeten-German Freikorps, the existence of which was mentioned in previous sessions. I quote the first six lines from the notes taken down after a telephone conversation, which one of the leaders of the so-called Volksdeutsch had in Berlin at 1900 hours on the 22nd of September 1938. Allow me to quote these extracts:

"Mr. Schmidt, from the Volksdeutsch Center, phoned at 1900 as follows:

"I, The Command of the Sudetan-deutsch Freikorps just communicated the following:

"1st Lt. Kochling transmitted the following Fuehrer's order: Freikorps has to carry out the occupation of regions cleared by Czechs. The important actions, however, may be executed only with the Fuehrer's personal approval."

The rest of this document signed by von Stechoff is of no interest, and I will not read it.

As far as I can judge the minutes of Hitler's reception of the Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chvalkowsky, on 21 January 1939, that is say shortly before the complete occupation of Czechoslovakia, - are of great interest. Hitler's mendacious and pompous statements as to his respect for the independence of small nations, statements recorded in the document I am about to quote, are characteristic of his perfidious tactics. (This document is presented to the Tribunal as USSR exhibit 266): You will find this document, your Honors, on page 203 of the first part of the document. I quote:

H0057 - 0003

"Chvalkowsky began by thanking the Fuehrer for having done his country the honor of receiving twice within three months, the Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had come here to inform the Fuehrer that, although it had cost his great efforts, he had strictly fulfilled the promise he had made to the Fuehrer on the 14th of October...

"The Fuehrer thanked Chvalkovsky for the fulfillment of his promises. The foreign policy of a state, he said, is determined by its home policy. It is quite impossinle to carry out a foreign policy of type "A", and at the same time, a home policy of type "B". It could succeed only for a short while. From the very start the development of events in Czechoslovakia was bound to lead to a catastrophe. And this catastrophe had been avoided thanks to Germany.

"Had Germany not struck to National-Socialist principles, - which forbade annexations, - the fate of Czechoslovakis, would have followed another course. Whatever, today, remains of Czechoslovakia, has been saved not by Benesh, but only thanks to National-Socialist principles."

I pass a few sentences and continue:

"For example, the strength of the Dutch and Danish armies rested not in thenselves, but in the fact that the whole world was convinced of the absolute neutrality of these States. When war broke out, it was well known that the problem of neutrality was one of very great importance to these countries. The case of Belgium was somewhat different, as that country had had an agreement with the French General Staff. In this particular case, Germany, was compelled to forestaff possible eventualities. These small countries were defended not by their armies but by respect to their neutrality."

A further part of this quotation you will find on Page 207.

"Chavalkovsky, backed by Mastny, again spoke about the situation in Czechoslovakia, and about the attitude of the majority of the peasants. Before the crisis, he said, the people did not know what they were to expect of Germany. But when they saw that they would not be exterminated, and that Germany wish to lead the Czech people in her wake, they heaved a sigh of relief. World propaganda, against which the Fuehrer had been struggling for so mamy years, was not focussed on tine Czechoslovakia. Chvalkovsky begged the Fuehrer

H0057 - 0004

to address, from time to time, a few kind words to the Czech people. That might produce miracles. The Fuehrer did not know the great weight the Czech people attached to his word. If he would only openly declare that he intended collaborating with the Czech people, - and with the people, not with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, - all foreign propaganda would be utterly defeated The Fuehrer concluded the conversation and expressed his belief in a promising future." These notes are signed by Hegel.

Now it would be opportune to refer again to a document which has already been mentioned at this trial. I mean the so-called "Document for superior officers only" dated 30th of May 1938. It bears the No. OKW 42/38 and 338-PS and has already been presented to the Tribunal by my honorable colleagues of the USA Delegation. The Chief Prosecutor of the USSR also referred to this document in his opening statement. Formulating the contents of the facist conspiracy against Czechoslovakia, Hitler stated that his irrevocable decision was to defeat Czechoslovakia in the immediate future by military aggression.

He divides this task into two parts; political and military, and then with his characteristic boundless cynicism, declares -- and this quotation is on page 209 of the first part:

"The most favorable moment, both politically and militarily, would be if a lightning blow were to be delivered under the pretext of some incident, which will provoke Germany in the most abrupt manner."

The document bears Hitler's signature, and was the authentic plan of Hitler and his accomplices concerning Czechoslovakia, drawn up for in advance of the day, when Chvalkovsky requested that criminal "to address from time to time a few kind words to the Czech people."

Even, if in his public utterances Hitler sometimes used what Chvalkovsky called "kind words", the actual relations were developing altogether along entirely different lines. But even this is not all. We will describe the set up of the provocated incident in all its details.

I would like, as this moment, to present to the Tribunal the "Notes to the Report" on Plan "Gruen" of 24 August 1938, the greater part of which has already been read into the record as document 388-PS. Here are two paragraphs. You will find these extracts on page 214 of Volume I, Part I.

H0057 - 0005

"The execution of Plan "Gruen" will start with the creation of an incident in Czechoslovakia which will give Germany a pretext for a military intervention.

"It is of the greatest importance to fix the exact day and hour for staging the incident. This incident must be provoked under weather conditions favorable for our superior air force in carrying out the operation, and it should be timed in such a way, that the respective notification should reach us by midday of X - 1 day. This will enable us to follow it up immediately by issuing the order X, on X - 1 day, at 1400 hours."

The document concluded as follows. It is on page 215.

"The purpose of these statements is to show how greatly interested are the armed forces in the incident, and that they should know well in advance the intentions of the Fuehrer inasmuch as the organization of the incident will be entrusted in one way or another to the Abwehr."

The document was signed by Jodl. These are not mere words; this is a plan of hideous provocation; a plan which, as we already know, has been carried into effect.

Document No. 388-PC has already been accepted by you, as evidence presented by the delegation of the USA. I would like to stress one point: the murderers and usurpers not only developed plans of their crimes, but were also anxious to put them into effect under practical conditions most advantageous for themselves as far as possible. They need fine weather, and 24 hours of it for the final preparation. Moreover, they need an incident, provoked by themselves, which would justify their dirty crimes in the eyes of at least a part of the world opinion.

This latter fact demonstrates clearly that Hitlerites themselves were perfectly aware of the criminality of their actions.

In passing, I wish to draw your attention to one point: OKW bears direct responsibility for the criminal character of these actions. They cannot plead "We knew not what we did." These agents -- provocateurs and aggressors wearing the uniform of the highest ranks of the German Army -- were the first to qualify themselves as provocateurs and aggressors.

And finally I have to tell the Tribunal that one of the ultimate aims of the Fascist invasion of Czechoslovakia was to liquidate this historically

H0057 - 0006

formed Slavic State.

On page 36 of the official report of the Czechoslovak Government, we can read the following quotation from a statement made by Hitler in the summer of 1932 in the presence of Dare, Rauschning and other high Fascist officials. I will quote this excerpt which is on page 38 of the first volume, first part of your file:

"Czecho-Moravian Basin will be colonized by German peasants. We shall transplant the Czechs to Siberia or the Volynian district. They must get out of Central Europe."

This same statement by Hitler is quoted in the Czechoslovak report from Rauchning's book "Hitler speaks", page 46.

I consider it necessary to read into the record a passage from the Czechoslovakian report, which follows immediately the above quotation, page 39 of the first volume, first part, the last paragraph at the end of the page.

"This criminal plan was approved by Karl Hermann Frank, Secretary of State to the Reichsprotektor in Prague from March 17th, 1939 and the Minister of State in Prague from 1943, and who was known to the world as the 'butcher of Lidice'."

Interrogated about this point by Colonel Echer, in Weisbaden, on May 29th 1945, Frank declared:

"The plan for the evacuation of the Czech people to the East, as mentioned above and discussed in Party circles, coincides roughtly with the quoted passage."

The defendant Neurath was Reichsprotektor for Czechoslovakia and Moravia from March 17th 1938 to September 28th 1941. He did much to destroy Czechs-slovakia as a state.

Appendix 1 to the report of the Czechoslovakian Government reads as follows. You will find this extract on page 67 of the first volume, first part of your file.

"The Reichsprotektor was the highest of the Reich authorities, agencies and officials in the Protectorate". The defendant Neurath must not escape responsibility for these crimes.

My colleagues of the Soviet Delegation will submit evidence to show to the

H0057 - 0007

Tribunal the upheaval in the life of the hard-working Czech people from the moment that the Fascist aggressors began to carry out in practice their plan for the destruction of Czechoslovakia as a state.

When we turn to the documents concerning the aggression against Poland, we find there many features common to the conspirators' crimes committed against Czechoslovakia.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it is only a mistake in the translation into English, but it is stated in our copy that the defendant Neurath was Reichsprotektor for Czechoslovakia and Moravia from the 17th of March 1938. No doubt you said 1939. Did you?

COLONEL POKROVSKY: I am afraid that what I said was not quite right. I said from the 17th of March 1938 to September 28, 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: It should have been 1939, should it not?

COLONEL POKROVSKY: Yes, if I am not mistaken, that's right.

H0057 - 0008

I will repeat that when we study the documents concerning the aggression against Poland, we find there many features common to the conspirators' crimes committed against Czechoslovakia. I have in mind the systematic violation of treaties and solemn declarations, false assurances, the creation of a paid fifth column organized on a military footing, and the suddenness of the treacherous lightning blow.

This can be proved by a whole series of documents.

An official report of the Polish government contains a detailed list of the treaties violated by the conspirators. Inasmuch as we are concerned with facts of common knowledge which were already commented upon in the opening statements of the Chief Prosecutors, I beg the Tribunal to take judicial notice of this part of the Polish report, namely of the two first articles of the Count: "Crimes against Peace".

I wish to quote 4 lines from article 3 of this count which begins on page 219 of your document book. This concerns the Polish-German declarations of the 26th January 1934.

"Both governments are convinced that the relations between their countries will in this manner develop fruitfully, and will lead to the establishment of a neighbourly relationship which will contribute to the well-being not only of both their countries, but of the other peoples of Europe as well."

The defendant Von NEURATH signed this declaration on behalf of Germany.

Now, I deem it necessary to read an excerpt from a declaration made by the defendant Goering, during his visit to Warsaw, on the 16th February 1937, which we find on page 4 of the Polish report. This declaration was made to the representatives of the Polish government.

"On the German side, there is no desire whatever to deprive Poland of any part of her territory. Germany is completely reconciled to her present territorial status. Germany would not attack Poland and has no intention of seizing the Polish corridor. We do not want the corridor. I say that sincerely and categorically, we do not need the corridor. Just as Germany trusts and believes that Poland has no intention of seizing Eastern Prussia, and the remaining part of Silesia, so can Poland believe that Germany had no intention of depriving her of any of her rights and possessions."

H0057 - 0009

I think that paragraph 6 of the Polish official report also deserves to be read in full, which will be found on page 220 of your Document Book.

Point 6: "On November 5th, 1937, the Polish and German Government issued identical declarations concerning the treatment of minorities. The declaration concludes with the following passage: The above principles can in no way affect the duties of the minorities of complete loyalty to the state to which they belong. They have been inspired by a desire to secure for the minorities equitable conditions of life and harmonious collaboration with the nationals of the State in which they live - a state of affairs which will contribute to the progressive strengthening of the friendly and good-neighborly relations between Poland and Germany."

On September 2, 1939, Polish anti-aircraft units brought down near Poznan a German aircraft. A secret order issued by the Wehrmacht was found on the pilots. It contained, among others, the following sentence: This quotation is on page 240, volume 1, part 2 of the document book of the Trial - "The reservists of German race will attempt to avoid being mobilized in the Polish army and will join the German army."

Then following the detailed enumeration of insignia by which all people "Who assist the German Army" would be recognized." The order states that they will be supplied - I quote one paragraph as it is noted in the report on page 24: "2:- with automatic weapons, type 14 and 34, and also, in certain cases grenades of the Czech model." It is quite obvious that the latter was done for the purpose of provocation. The order bore the signature of Major Reiss. Inasmuch as this fact is ascertained in the manner provided for, by Article 21 of the Charter, I request you to accept the facts stated by me as evidence.

I wish to submit to the Tribunal one more excerpt from a document respectively USSR 93. The part quoted is on page 223, and dropping down to the red pencil mark you will find that quotation on page 223, 1st volume, part 2 of the records of the Trial:

"Evidence gathered by the Polish Army in the course of the campaign of September 1939 indicates the following:

A) As regards the divertionist activities in southwestern Poland, those activities were organized beforehand, and were only carried out by agents dropped by parachutes. German espionnage was organized

H0057 - 0010

by special emissaries who feigned to be travelling teachers, trained spies and diversionists. Every year a number of young Germans would leave every German colony to proceed to the Reich. There they received special training, and upon their return to Poland did penance. They contacted the local authorities and told them about the fascist cruelties and expressed their joy at having returned to their 'Dear homeland.' But the same Germans remained in contact with their agents in Germany and supplied them with information either by mail or through the travelling teachers.

B) Besides the agents who were recruited among the young people, and appointed to collaborate with the German section of the population, there also existed a group of leaders and instructors, consisting of officers who were supplied with passports and who came to Poland, long before the outbreak of hostilities."

Thanks to evidence discovered in the course of investigation, the Polish Government has ascertained that the main diversionist groups consisted of bodies of Hitler Youth known as the "Hitler Jugend." The defendant Schirach was, as we knew, the leader of this fascist organization.

In paragraph 21 of our document submitted as USSR Exhibit No. 93, we find information on this subject, which deserves to be read into the record.

THE PRESIDENT: What page are you referring to?

COLONEL PEKROVSKY: Page 223, Your Honor. Here are the details relating to the organization of the system of diversionist activities:

A) "The agents were recruited mainly from among the groups of young people known as "Hitler Jugend," and also among men and women, mainly of German nationality, who were recruited in Poland."

B) "Special courses, lasting from a fortnight to three months were organized for these agents on Reich territory."

C) "The members of these courses were split up into two categories: the first consisted of individuals possessing a thorough knowledge of the Polish language who were entrusted with special missions to be carried out in the rear of the Polish Army. The second category consisted of individuals who were to mingle with the crowds of Poles fleeing from the war and air-raids."

H0057 - 0011

D) "Shortly before the war, the students went through an additional course of instruction in special camps where they were assigned to 'districts for divertionist activity.'"

And now I shall turn to the examination of documents, which demonstrate the falsehood and the hypocrisy of other declarations made by Hitlerite conspirators on international questions concerning Poland. With this purpose in mind, I shall quote paragraphs 7, 8 & 9 of the section, entitled "Crimes against Peace", our number USSR 93 (the last paragraph on page 4 and the top of page 5 of the Russian text): In your document book these quotations are marked on page 20 or 21 -- pages 20 and 21 - 1937.

7. On 5 November 1937 the Polish Ambassador was received by Hitler in the presence of the defendant Von Neurath. On this occasion, Hitler declared:

"There will be no changes in the legal and political status of Danzig. The rights of the Polish population in Danzig shall be respected. The rights of Poland in Danzig shall not be violated."

Twice on this occasion, Hitler repeated with pathos: Danzig ist mit Polen verbunden (Danzig is joined to Poland)."

8. The first hints of the desired changes in the status of Danzig were made by the defendant Ribbentrop on 25 October 1938. He suggested that Poland should agree to the reunion of Danzig with the Reich, in exchange for an extension of the German-Polish pact for 25 more years, and a guarantee of the German-Polish boundaries. Poland was to keep the Danzig railroads and to retain privileges in return for her assent to the building of an exterritorial highway and a railroad through Pommerania. This proposal was rejected.

On page 20 - 21, second paragraph of first volume:

9. Later on, during his visit to Warsaw, the defendant Ribbentrop assured the Polish Government that there will be no "faits accomplis" on the territory of the Free City (25-27 January 1939)

It is known that during the last months preceeding I September 1939 concentrations of German mobilized forces were carried out, and border clashes had taken place. I think that when paragraph 17 of Document 388-PS, which is signed by Jodl, is read by me into the record, the cause of these clashes will become quite clear.

H0057-0012

On 15 April 1939, the late President of the United States of America, Franklin Delane Roosevelt, made an appeal to the world and to the leaders of Germany and Poland with the view to preventing further political complications in Europe.

On 28 April and 5 May 1939, the Polish Government proposed to the government of Hitler-Germany, a practical solution for the problem of the free city of Danzig.

On 23 August 1939 the King of Belgium addressed to the world a radio appeal for peace.

On 24 August 1939, the President of the United States of America, made a second appeal to the leaders of the Reich and Poland.

The Polish Ambassador in Berlin, acting upon the advice of the British Ambassador in Warsaw, had a conference with Ribbentrop on 31 August.

I would like to quote two paragraphs, 18 and 19, of Document USSR Exhibit 93, page 6 of the Russian original, marked with red pencil:

"18. The German note stating the conditions for the settlement of the conflict with Poland was broadcast over German radio on 31 August 1939, at 9 p.m. However, this note was not handed to the Polish Ambassador until the evening of I September 1939. This was a few hours after German Armed Forces, both from the air and the land, had made an attack on Polish territory, which was launched in the early hours of I September 1939.

19. In this way, Germany attacked Poland in violation of her international assurance, without a previous declaration of war and at a moment when all her actions convinced the Polish Government that further negotiations between the two countries were pending, with the view to a peaceful settlement of this dispute."

Today I have at my disposal the original document, concerning the Danzig question, found by the Red Army in the archives of the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs. I present it to the Tribunal under U.S.S.R. Exhibit 185. According to the desires of the Tribunal, with the photostatic copies, we have included an original copy of this highly important historical document which we have just submitted to the Tribunal.

H0057 - 0013

On the first page you will see a telegram form, which proves that on 1 September 1939, at 5 a.m. a telegram was handed in at the telegraph office at Danzig; this telegram registered as #0166, consisted of 202 words and was addressed to the Fuehrer and Reich-Chancellor in Berlin.

On the second page you will see the text of this telegram of 202 words, which bears the seal of the Gauleiter of the Nazi Party in Danzig.

Allow me to read to you these 202 words which now form a part of the history of the Fascist conspirators' Crimes against Peace:

"Telegram to Fuehrer:

"Mein Fuehrer

"I have just signed, and by this act have put into force the following organic law providing for the reunion of Danzig with the German Reich.

"The organic law of the Free City of Danzig of the 1 September 1939, for the reunion of Danzig with the German Reich.

"For the purpose of relieving the dire needs of the people and the state of the Free City of Danzig, I promulgate the following organic law:

"Article I

"The Constitution of the Free City of Danzig is hereby abrogated forthwith.

"Article II.

"Legislative and executive power will, in the future, be exercised exclusivley by the Chief of State.

"Article III.

"The Free City of Danzig, together with its territory and population, immediately becomes an integral part of the German Reich.

"Article IV.

"Until the definite decision to introduce German state law is made by the Fuehrer, all the laws, the Constitution excepted, in force at the moment of the promulgation of the present organic law, remain in force.

"Danzig, 1 September 1939

"Signed: Albert FORSTER, Gauleiter

"I beg you, my Fuehrer, on behalf of Danzig and of its population, to approve the present 'Organic Law' and to confirm by Reich Statute the

H0057 - 0014

reunion with the German Reich.

"Danzig enthusiastically extends to you, my Fuehrer, the feeling of endless gratitude and eternal devotion.

"Heil to my Fuehrer

Albert FORSTER, Gauleiter."

And now that the documents which establish the actual line of conduct of the fascist conspirators with regard to Poland, have been submitted to the Tribunal, it seems to me opportune to refer be it only summarily, to excerpts from the plan "Weiss" as well as from the speeches, and pronouncements by Hitler and Ribbentrop typical of their ideas, after which I will offer in evidence a new document, which is Exhibit USSR 172. This document represents the secret notes by Bormann concerning a conversation on Poland, which took place in Hitler's apartment on 2 October 1940.

On 30 January, 1943, Hitler in his capacity of Chancellor of the Reich made a speech. It concerned a number of problems, including the relations with Poland.

There is no need to quote it in detail. At present, only two or three sentences can be of interest to us. I quote excerpts from Exhibit TC - 70:

"....It seems to me, that one must show by a concrete example that disagreements, however indisputable, need not prevent the finding of a 'Modus vivendi' which would serve usefully both the cause of peace and the welfare of both nations."

I will now skip several paragraphs and will quote one of the final sentences:

THE PRESIDENT: Colonel Pokrovsky, it is pointed out to me, and I intervene for the purpose of getting the record correct, that the document is not the 30th of January, 1943 or 1933, but is the 30th of January, 1934. Is that what you agree with?

COLONEL POKROVSKY: In my report I see the date 30th of January 1934.

THE PRESIDENT: That is right, yes.

COLONEL POKROVSKY: I will continue my quotation.

"The German Government is resolved and prepared to develop its political and economic relations with Poland in accordance with the present agreement,

in such a way as to ensure that a period of useful cooperation may follow one of fruitless reticence.

"The Chancellor has expressed here his particular satisfaction with the clarification of relationsbetween Danzig and Poland."

On the 26th of September, 1938, Hitler again spoke of Poland in one of his usual speeches. I consider it necessary to quote a short excerpt from this speech (TC-29):

"The German-Polish relations presented that complicated problem which I had to encounter. There was a danger that the idea of mutual implacable hostility would completely dominate the imagination of our own as well as of the Polish people. I wanted to avert it."

I do not consider it necessary to read the whole document, and I will, therefore omit a few sentences.

"Precisely a year later it was possible to come to an agreement which, in the first place, definitely eliminated the danger of a conflict for a period of ten years.

"We are all convinced, that the agreement will lead to a lasting peace. We realize, that the matter concerns two peoples, which have to exist side by side, and of which neither can eliminate the other.

"A state with a thirty-three million population will always strive for an exit to the sea.

"Because of that, a way to a mutual understanding had to be found. Now it is found, and will be more and more consolidated."

In absolute conformity with this official, and from beginning to end deceitful speech of Hitler's, the defendant Ribbentrop, speaking in Warsaw on 25 January 1939, stated: (This quotation is Number 2530-PS)

"It is an essential part of German Foreign Policy that the friendly relations between Germany and Poland, on the basis of the existing treaty, be progressively strengthened and deepened in accordance with the firm will of the Fuehrer."

Omitting one paragraph of this document, which has already been read in Court, and submitted to the Tribunal, as the documentary evidence No. 2530-PS, I wish to repeat only one sentence of it:

"Thus Poland and Germany can look forward to the future with complete reliance upon the solid basis of their mutual relations."

H0057 - 0015

H0057 - 0016

Need I remind the Tribunal, that in the already presented document L-79, which is a record of the conference on the 23 May 1939, at Hitler's new Reichs Chancery, among the many other openly aggressive declarations and statements of policy by Hitler, this man uttered the following sentence:

"Thus, there isno question of sparing Poland, and the decision remains to attack Poland at the first opportunity. It is impossible to expect a repetition of the operation against Czechoslovakia. This time it will mean war."

In all fairness it must be stated that this war was a surprise for Poland only. The Fascist conspirators had for a long time carefully prepared for it. I now turn to Document C-120, a considerable part of which has already been read into the record. I would like to submit several excerpts from this document concerning the conspiracy of Hitlerites directed against Poland, excerpts which have not yet been read into the record. I would like to draw your attention to certain sentences, which naturally did not attract the attention of the counsel who offered this document in evidence. These sentences are neither decisive nor of primary importance, but they are highly characteristic and necessary for a correct evaluation of the material I am abbut to present.

In the document stamped No. 120-C, for Commanding Officers only, top secret. Matter concerning Chief of Staff. Through an officer only. General Headquarters of the Armed Forces WFA 37/39 Chefsache (L-a), just preceding the text of the document, its subject is indicated, as follows:

"Subject: Instructions for the Armed Forces for the years 1939-1940." Directive concerning the uniform preparation of the Armed Forces for the years 1939-1940 is hereby restated."

This sentence definitely indicates that already previously, that is, before 3 April 1939, there existed directives on this very question.

In paragraph 3 of the cited document the following is said:

"Any suggestion by the three branches of the Armed Forces as well as the date for the calendar schedule will be submitted to the OKW on 1 May 1939."

Already by the 1 May 1937 Germany had a revised, modernized and detailed plan for an aggression against Poland. And Hitler while playing the

H0057 - 0017

part of one wronged by Poland, waited only for an opportune moment to declare that he had no choice but to destroy the Polish State.

In one of the appendixes to the quoted document - it is also listed as #120-C, but was not read into the record - there is one feature of great importance. The document is signed by Hitler and bears the date 11 April 1939. It was prepared in five originals. I offer in evidence a copy of the second original.

"Directive concerning the uniform preparation of the Armed Forces for the years 1939 - 1940.

I will expound at a later date the future objectives of the Armed forces as well as the preparations for war which follow therefrom.

Until this directive becomes effective, the Armed Forces must be ready to accomplish the following tasks:

(1) Securing the boundaries of the German Reich and protection from a sudden air offensive

(2) Operation "Weiss"

(3) Occupation of Danzig.

Appendix 4 will regulate the question of authority in East Prussia, in case military operations should develop.

Hitler."

H0057 -0018

I will now read into the record, the first paragraph of Appendix 3, entitled, "The Occupation of Danzig."

"In the event of a favorable political situation, the question of a surprise occupation of the Free City of Danzig may arise independently of plan 'Weiss'".

I think that we can dispense with the reading of the rest of the document.

If it please the Tribunal, it is worthy of note that, accoding to German plans the occupation of Danzig was regarded either as an integral part of the aggression against Poland, or, in case of a different political situation, as an independent operation, but, in both cases, it was planned well in advance.

This set of documents listed as number C-120 includes a top-secret directive intended exclusively for commanding officers, and which was to be transmitted through officers only. It is important to note that the subject of this document, which has already been presented to the Tribunal, is indicated as follows.

"Instructions concerning the uniform preparation for war of the Armed Forces for the years 1939-1940." Just as the previous ones, this document was not intended for a wide circle of readers. It was typed only in seven originals. The Fascist conspirators were not very anxious to popularize their planned preparation for war.

And again in the appendix to directive OKW 37/39, which I have already submitted to the Tribunal, and which is entitled, "Special Orders for Operation Weiss," there is a very significant sentence.

I will read into the record the last but one sub-paragraph of paragraph 2.

"In case of a public announcement of the general mobilization (Mobplan), the mobilization will automatically extend to all civilian life, including war production. However, a public announcement of mobilization should not be counted on, should events be confined to 'Plan Weiss'".

H0057 -0019

It seems highly significant to me that the Fascist conspirators, though fully conscious of the fact that war was to be initiated, had planned the execution of their criminal intent without announcing a mobilization.

And finally, I would like to point out that in Keitel's order to the Armed Forces, #37/39, of 3 April 1939, issued in connection with "Operation Weiss," the following directives by Hitler are stated for information.

"I. The operational plans must be worked out with the view that their execution will be possible at any time beginning 1 September 1939."

We know that the invasion of Poland was, in fact started on 1 September, 1939, in short on the very first day on which the German Armed Forces had to be fully ready for action.

The Operational Order #1, under #25039, of 21 August, 1939, issued to the command of Naval Group, "Ost," on board the battleship, "Schleswig Holstein," stated as follows.

This document has already been submitted to the Tribunal as a German photostatic copy

"1. Situation

a) Political: the Armed Forces must be defeated by means of a lightning thrust, to enable the creation in the East of a situation favorable for the defense of the country. The Free City of Danzig will be declared a Reich City."

It is worth while to keep this sentence in mind when one speaks about the "free expression of will by the Danzig population," which allegedly aspired to become part of the Reich. It must not be forgotten that this free expression of will had been anticipated by the above operational order No. 1, to the very day.

To conclude, I consider it essential to read, almost in full, a rather long but exceptionally important document. I have in mind a note by the Defendant Bormann of 2/10/1940, referring to a conversation about Poland. This conversation was held after a dinner which took

H0057 - 0020

place in Hitler's apartment.

"Secret. Berlin, 2/10 - 1940. Note."

You will find this note on page 311, second part, first volume of the document files.

2.10.1940. After a dinner, at the Fuehrer's apartment there developed a conversation on the nature of the Government General, the treatment of the Poles and the incorporation, already approved by the Fuehrer, of the districts of Piotrokow and Tomshev into the Warta province.

The conversation began when the Reichsminister, Dr. Frank, informed the Fuehrer that the activities in the Government-General could be termed very successful. The Jews in Warsaw and other cities had been locked up in the ghetto; Cracow would very shortly be cleared of them."

I now skip a few paragraphs.

"The Fuehrer further emphasized that the Poles, in direct contrast to our German workmen, are born for hard labour; we must all give all possibilities of advancement to our German workers; as to the Poles - there can be no question of improvement for them. On the contrary, it is necessary to keep the standard of life low in Poland and it must not be permitted to rise."

"The Government General must under no conditions, be an isolated and a uniform economic region; the Government General must not produce independently, even in part, any manufactured goods necessary for its subsistence; the Government General should be used by us as a source of unskilled labour (in industries such as brick manufacturing, road construction, etc. etc.) One cannot change the nature of a Slav, the Fuehrer has emphasized. Whilst, as a rule, our German workers are by nature assiduous and diligent, the Poles are lazy and it is necessary to use compulsion to make them work.

"However, there are no reasons to expect that the Government General will become an independent economic region, as there are no

H0057 - 0021

mineral resources and, even should such be available, the Poles are not capable of utilizing them.

"The Fuehrer has explained that the Reich needs large estates to provide food for our large cities; these large estates, as well as other establishments of rural economy, are in need of labor, and cheap labor to boot, for the cultivation of the soil and for harvesting... As soon as the harvest time is over, the laborers can go back to Poland, because, should they be employed in rural economy the whole year round, they themselves would use up an important part of the produce. The best solution would thus be to import from Poland temporary laborers, for the duration of the sowing and harvesting times.

"Our industrial districts are over-populated, while at the same time there is a lack of manpower in rural economy. That is where we can make use of the Polish laborers. For this reason, it would be quite right to have a surplus of manpower in the Government General, so that every year the laborers needed by the Reich could be procured from there. It is indispensable to keep in mind that the Polish landlords must cease to exist; however cruel this may sound, wherever they are, they must be exterminated.

"There must of course be no sexual intercourse with Poles. It would consequently be a right procedure if Polish harvesters, both men and women, came together to the Reich. Whatever their mutual relationships were in their camps, would not be a matter of our concern - no zealous Protestant should poke his nose into these affairs.

"The Fuehrer stressed once more that there should be one master only for the Poles - the German: two masters, side by side, cannot and must not exist; therefore, all representatives of the Polish intelligentsia are to be exterminated. This sounds cruel, but such is the law of life.

"The Government General represents a Polish reserve of man-power - a large Polish labor camp. The Poles will also benefit from this, as

H0057 - 0022

we look after their health and see to it that they do not starve, etc., but they must never be raised to a higher level, for they will then become anarchists and communists. It will therefore be proper, if the Poles remain Catholics; Polish priests will receive food from us and will, for that reason, direct their little sheep along the path we favour. The priests will be paid by us and will in return preach what we wish them to preach. If any priest acts differently, we will make short work of him. The task of the priest is to keep the Poles quiet, stupid and dull-witted. This is entirely in our interests. Should the Poles rise to a higher level of development, they will cease to be that man-power of which we are in need. In other respects, it will suffice for a Pole to possess a small holding in the Government General - a large farm is not at all necessary; he will have to earn his living in Germany. It is just this cheap labor we need; every German and every German worker will benefit by this cheap labor. A strict German administration must exist in the Government General to keep order among the Poles. These reserves mean for us the maintenance of agriculture, particularly of our large estates, and they are, besides, a source of supply of labor."

I see no need to read the record of the exchange of views between those present, although it is mentioned in the document, and I will go on directly to Hitler's final statements.

To sum up the Fuehrer stated once more:

"1. The lowest German workman and the lowest German peasant must always stand economically 10% above any Pole."

I omit the second paragraph and pass to the third. It is of great interest.

"3. I do not wish" the Fuehrer stressed "that a German workman should, as a rule, work more than 8 hours, when we have normal conditions again; if a Pole, however, works 14 hours, he is still, in spite of that, to earn less than a German workman.

"4. The ideal picture is this: a Pole must possess a small

H0057 - 0023

holding in the Government General which will, to a certain extent, provide him and his family with food. The money required by him for clothes, supplementary foods, etc., he must earn in Germany. The Government General must become a center for supplying seasonal unskilled labor, particularly agricultural laborers. The subsistence of these workmen will be fully guaranteed, because they will always be made use of for cheap labor."

This document deals with the question of Hitler's attitude towards Poland and the Polish people with such exhaustive clarity that it requires no comment.

I wish only to draw your Honors' attention to three points.

Firstly, Hitler definitely states and develops in detail the idea that, in the "new" Fascist order in Europe, the Polish people and Polish State must be only a Polish labor camp for Hitlerite Germany.

Secondly, Hitler believes that the Poles will benefit from such a state of affairs, because the Fascist conspirators intend to care for the health and adequate nourishment of the Poles turned into slaves.

I beg your Honors to consider the fact that by "adequate nourishment," Hitler understands a state of affairs according to which, every Pole should be maintained at an economic level, which would be considerably below that of the most wretched German.

By "care" he means, that the standard of living in Poland should be low, and that it should not improve, so that no Pole be engaged otherwise than in heavy unskilled labor 14 hours a day. Finally, Hitler sets the task of the extermination of the entire intelligentsia, stating impudently that there should exist only one master for the Poles - the Germans.

In the course of further presentation of documents to the Tribunal, we will prove that Hitler and his followers, in the persons of the participants of the Fascist conspiracy, strove to exterminate the Polish people and to reduce the standard of living of the Poles

H0057 - 0024

to the most pitiable and beggarly level. In their opinion their very existence depended solely on the fact that it assured cheap man-power for the Fascist "masters."

THE PRESIDENT: Would that be a convenient time to break off?

(The Tribunal adjourned until 11 February, 1946, at 10.00 hours.)